

GREEN FOREIGN POLICY SNAPSHOTS

PRELIMINARY FINDINGS
REPORT



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**PRELIMINARY FINDINGS
REPORT**

ABSTRACT

Green foreign policy, lacking an agreed upon definition, is often misquoted and misinterpreted, narrowed down to only protecting the natural environment or dismissed as wishful thinking. In this preliminary study conducted in 2022, we attempted to see beyond scattered political opinion by analysing data, i.e. foreign policy positions of green parties from around the world, through the lens of political science and international relations theory. Indeed, these preliminary findings indicate global points of reference, in the direction of the liberal institutionalism school of thought. Partial or complete, a green foreign policy doctrine may be an eventuality based on these initial findings. Nevertheless, this remains to be seen through further studies based on international relations theory.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Prologue: Identifying the values behind the terms	2
Chapter 1: Introduction	4
Chapter 2: Methodology	8
2.1 Preparatory Stage	8
2.2 The selection criteria for sampling	9
2.3 The material selected	11
Chapter 3: Preliminary Characteristics	15
3.1 Introductory remarks	15
3.2 Preliminary analysis of characteristics	18
3.2.1 Characteristic 1: Elements of Normative Foreign Policy	18
3.2.2 Characteristic 2: Elements of Interventionism	20
3.2.3 Characteristic 3: Climate Policy & Sustainability	22
3.2.4 Characteristic 4: Elements of Feminist Foreign Policy	24
3.2.5 Characteristic 5: Fair Trade, Development & Resources	26
3.2.6 Characteristic 6: Promotion of Peace / Non Violence	28
3.2.7 Characteristic 7: Promotion of Human Rights	30
3.2.8 Characteristic 8: Prohibition-Restriction of Arms / Arms Trade	32
3.2.9 Characteristic 9: International Cooperation / Alliances	34
3.2.10 Characteristic 10: Participatory Decision-making	36
Chapter 4: Conclusions	39
Endnotes	40

PROLOGUE: IDENTIFYING THE VALUES BEHIND THE TERMS

As the climate crisis defines the global political framework, in which we will be living and operating in the foreseeable future, every aspect of life and, consequently, of policymaking will be developing against this background. Foreign policy is by no means an exception, and therefore an international debate has been unfolding — especially since Annalena Baerbock took over her role as Minister of Foreign Affairs of the German Federal Government — around the question of what a green foreign policy approach would look like.

This study is a deep dive into the programmes of Green parties from all over the world that are members of the Global Greens. Its aim is to see how foreign policy issues are framed within the agendas of parties of the Green political family that operate within very different contexts. It identifies a common thread and values that are fundamental to a green approach that seems to be emerging as a much-needed alternative toolkit to the traditional schools of thought to address global challenges.

From the Heinrich Böll Stiftung Office Thessaloniki perspective, this work is a necessary first step to inform the public debate, especially in a country, and indeed a wider region, that has suffered for a very long time trapped in the deadlock of the realist analysis.

Enjoy the read and join us in the next steps, as we will be approaching practical examples through a green foreign policy lens.

Michalis Goudis

Director Heinrich Böll Stiftung Office Thessaloniki

1

CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

Green foreign policy (GFP) is a term often met with a puzzled gaze. Although the Green political family has been around for several decades, there is no commonly accepted definition of what green foreign policy is about. Indeed, the specificity of geography, culture and history in each region of the world may sometimes lead to blurriness when it comes to the wider foreign policy approach of Green parties. At the same time, it is quite clear that the green movement stemmed from the new social movements, which included pacifism and the wider demand for global disarmament.

What is more, the lack of a clear definition has not impeded ad hoc political positions on matters of foreign policy and indeed interpretations on questions of international relations based on temporary party consensus. Adding to this, several political opinion articles have attempted to describe GFP based on political analysis, without necessarily taking international relations theory into account, which has often resulted in inconsistencies and contradictions in the forming of GFP proposals. Nevertheless, this political exchange has underlined the need for a clearer demarcation of GFP and indeed highlighted in broad terms an ideological common denominator which aspires to non-violence, the promotion of peace and the universality of human rights, among other norms.

The universality of human rights as a political position translates into a requirement for the universal application of these rights. But what happens when their universal character is disregarded or even refused in national constitutional orders? In other words, what does this political position translate into in foreign policy terms? Although answers to these questions may vary, there is a clear implication that the Greens pushing for the universality of human rights also means pushing not only their home country, but also other countries to abide by the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Some Green parties, such as GroenLinks in the Netherlands, have debated the question of pushing for this universality, including when it comes to military intervention¹. The long list of requirements and preventive actions resulting from that debate not only attests to the non-violence ideal resting at the core of green political analysis, but also to the dedication to the promotion of peace and non-violence as a principle. Nevertheless, it seems that tackling the causes of war instead of going to war may not

always be a fruitful endeavour, and as the case of Ukraine demonstrates in Europe, not always among available options.

Indeed, bridging non-violence with military intervention is a long and difficult debate that many Green parties have dived into over the course of time. The difficulty is not only due to internal quarrels that might arise around such questions, but also because of the urgency for these questions to be answered in a multipolar and increasingly volatile international system. Does the promotion of peace and non-violence mean to stand idle in the face of atrocities? Some would argue that it is preferable to have such questions answered in due time from a point of political principle rather than on an ad hoc basis when the need arises. After all, democracy takes time.

Moreover, as a result of the ongoing climate crisis and the efforts to reverse it, climate diplomacy is now more mainstream. And although other political families have hopped on the bandwagon of tackling climate change, at least semantically, it remains a distinct feature of the Green political family. In other words, circumstance has also been a factor gearing towards further delineating GFP and what it could be. The nature of environmental issues traversing state borderlines is common knowledge. Placing the protection of the environment at the core of the political identity of the Greens is also affecting foreign policy proposals due to this beyond-border character of environmental challenges.

In that sense, the global perspective stemming from core political issues for the Greens seems to be hinting at an approach in international relations based on cooperation rather than conflict, which goes hand in hand with the wider approach for the promotion of peace. In addition to that, the Greens have often alluded to international rules and treaties as the basis for exchange and cooperation, thus qualifying this tendency for cooperation in more specific terms. In other words, there seems to be something distinct in the character of foreign policy proposals and their application on the part of Green parties. Given the persistent lack of some kind of definition for GFP to this day, it appears that although political dialogue and opinion articles on foreign policy are valuable and necessary, there is still something amiss.

In order to look at the problem with new eyes, we turned to data and scientific method. However, very little academic material is available when it comes to foreign policy and the Greens. Indeed, bringing international relations theory, political science and a solid understanding of green ideology into a single equation has been one of the major obstacles we encountered in our efforts. To begin with, we assembled a research team consisting of a professor of comparative politics and graduates of international relations theory, in order to proceed with the first step of gathering the data. Approaching this process scientifically was key in order to have data with the objectivity provided by the scientific method, to the extent that a study of a preliminary character allows.

At the same time, the research team had to deal with a question that could not be answered by looking into one region of the world alone. That is because the specificity of local reality, eye-opening as it may be in several instances, may distort a general

principle, especially when that principle stems from an ideological platform. Thankfully, Green parties from across the world have come together under the wider umbrella of the Global Greens. Importantly, the Global Greens have established a set of common ideological principles² for parties in their midst and that was particularly helpful due to the nature of this study. Indeed, who better to answer what is green foreign policy than the Green parties themselves? Thus, a comparative study on a representative sample of the Global Greens' member parties appeared to be the best way forward.

Furthermore, the scope of the required sample, spanning continents across the world, was another challenge for the research team given the finite resources at their disposal. Indeed, the scope was quite extensive, not only in terms of geography but also relating to the variety of formats in which the available texts could be found online. Adding to this, the researchers were tasked with prioritizing publicly available texts that referred to foreign policy proposals. Due to the various stages of development of parties under scrutiny, the research team had to include more generic texts, such as statutes, in some instances.

As we will see in the course of this report, some of these challenges have been managed successfully. However, others were more persistent and that is one of the reasons why this report considers the findings preliminary. They are also preliminary because the effort is meant to be the groundwork for a series of studies and analyses on green foreign policy that will provide a firmer basis for an informed political debate, taking into account the essentials of international relations theory and political science.

2

CHAPTER 2:

METHODOLOGY

2.1 PREPARATORY STAGE

The methodological approach adopted for this preliminary study was comparative content analysis. The first step for the research team was to commence desk research in search of bibliographical sources on the question of GFP. Unsurprisingly, the references to green foreign policy in academic literature were scarce, if any. There were, however, several articles referring to green foreign policy, at times through the lens of journalistic inquiry, and others with a more political analysis. With notable exceptions, the overall picture was rather puzzling, with some articles referring to *green foreign policy as an environmental protection measure*³ and *others*⁴ scratching the surface of possibilities on what GFP is about.

With this background of the ongoing public discussion as a first introduction to what GFP may be, the team of researchers proceeded with the preparatory work on the comparative study. Indeed, they looked for public declaratory texts, statutes, political platforms and policy proposals from the wider sample of the Global Greens member parties. Due to the limitations of geography and resources, this process was entirely online, and so the list of parties and corresponding available material was compiled with this important underpinning parameter. In addition to that, all the research was to be written in Greek⁵.

After a careful examination of the material available online, the research team proceeded with qualifying and narrowing down the sample to a manageable size. In order to do this, they elaborated a set of parameters for the eligibility of parties for the purposes of this study. These criteria would have to result in a sample that would be representative both in terms of continents and in terms of party development stage. Adding to that, the selected parties would *ideally* have to have expressed foreign policy principles in their publicly available texts.

2.2 THE SELECTION CRITERIA FOR SAMPLING

In particular, there were four criteria defined for the sampling, and they are in line with an effort to provide a comprehensive view of the parties and the regional (geo)political environment where they were active. The criteria were as follows:

1. Available and functioning website.
2. Availability and accessibility of the material on the website.
3. Distinguishable references to foreign policy.
4. Electoral significance of the party, based on their representation dynamics, or geographic/demographic significance of their county in the region.

The logic behind these qualifying criteria has been further explained by the research team through a series of practical examples.

For instance, in a given geographical region, from amongst Green parties with a functioning website (criterion 1), which contained material either in English or in another language (2) and which material had distinguishable references to foreign policy (3), the research team would sample the parties from countries with the most prominent geopolitical significance (demographics, large economy, etc.) for the region (4), or alternatively, where a given party had a significant electoral presence (4). Additionally, in a case of an existing website (1), with material available on that website (2) but without distinguishable references to foreign policy (3), the research team would prioritize parties with such references instead.

What is more, these criteria were applied per region in order ensure the inclusion of all possible approaches on foreign policy. The regions designated by the research team were Oceania, Africa, America, Asia and Europe. In Oceania, the Australian Greens⁶ and the Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand⁷ were selected for the sample due to the high geopolitical/demographic significance of their respective countries. In Africa, many parties did not have a functioning website, and from among those who did, distinct references to foreign policy were rather scarce. Nevertheless, the Democratic Green Party of Rwanda/Parti Democratique Vert du Rwanda⁸ and the Ecological party of Uganda,⁹ which were selected for the sample, both had a functioning website and accessible material.

In America, the research team included the Green Party of Canada,¹⁰ which met all four criteria, as well as the Green Party of Brazil¹¹ and the Ecological Party of Chile,¹² which were all cases that particularly fulfilled criterion 4. In Asia, the sample included the Green Party Taiwan,¹³ the Green Party of Korea¹⁴ and the India Greens Party (IGP).¹⁵ Although all three parties participate in the Asia-Pacific Green Federation,¹⁶ the research team underlined that there weren't many functioning websites with material available in the region of Asia, which they studied separately. It should also be noted that the geopolitical significance and economy of the home countries of those parties was taken into account in the selection.

In Europe, the research team selected Bündnis '90/Die Grünen¹⁷ from Germany,

where all four criteria were met, as well as *GroenLinks*¹⁸ from the Netherlands, a case of a party that has consolidated its electoral and political strengths, with a stable presence in both the upper and lower houses of the country's parliament. In order to include the south of Europe as well in the sample, and since the research would be in Greek, *Ecologist Greens*¹⁹ from Greece were also selected, despite having a rather limited political representation. Table 1, found below, gathers the parties of the sample by geographical region and country.

TABLE 1: SAMPLE PER COUNTRY AND GEOGRAPHICAL REGION

SAMPLE OVERVIEW		
GEOGRAPHICAL REGION	COUNTRY	PARTY
Oceania	Australia	Australian Greens
	New Zealand	Green Party Aotearoa New Zealand
Africa	Rwanda	Democratic Green Party of Rwanda/Parti Démocratique Vert du Rwanda
	Uganda	Ecological party of Uganda
America	Canada	Green Party of Canada/Parti Vert du Canada
	Brazil	Partido Verde do Brasil
	Chile	Partido Ecologista Verde de Chile
Asia	Taiwan	Green Party Taiwan
	India	India Greens Party
	South Korea	Green Party of Korea
Europe	Germany	Bündnis '90/Die Grünen
	The Netherlands	GroenLinks
	Greece	Ecologist Greens

According to the *list of parties*²⁰ that are full members of the Global Greens, these 13 parties represent almost 17% of the total number of Green parties, a significant sample with a broad geographical coverage.

2.3 THE MATERIAL SELECTED

When it comes to the texts selected to be part of the sample, the research team stressed that the aim of this selection was to provide a clear and accurate account of values, positions and generally proposed policies on issues that reflect the basic principles of these parties in the field of foreign policy. In this context, priority was given to political manifestos whose structure allowed for better extraction of foreign policy references. However, a party's development stage has an impact on how elaborate such texts may be. In fact, foreign policy as an issue seems to be less discernible in texts of a more declaratory character that are often found on the websites of smaller parties.

TABLE 2: PARTY MATERIAL SAMPLED

OVERVIEW OF MATERIAL	
PARTY	MATERIAL & HYPERLINK
Australian Greens	▸ <i>Peace, Disarmament & Demilitarisation</i>²¹ ▸ <i>Decolonizing International Aid</i>²² ▸ <i>Anti-racist society</i>²³ ▸ <i>International Relations</i>²⁴ ▸ <i>Climate Change and Energy</i>²⁵
Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand	▸ <i>Global Affairs Policy</i>²⁶ ▸ <i>Trade and Investment Policy</i>²⁷ ▸ <i>Immigration Policy</i>²⁸
Democratic Green Party of Rwanda/Parti Democratique Vert du Rwanda	▸ <i>Democratic Green Party of Rwanda (DGPR) Political Program 2018-2023</i>²⁹
Ecological party of Uganda	▸ <i>Our Principles</i>³⁰
Green Party of Canada/Parti Vert du Canada	▸ <i>Platform 2021 Green Future Life with Dignity Just Society</i>³¹
Partido Verde do Brasil	▸ <i>Os 12 Valores do PV</i>³² ▸ <i>Governo divulga nota sobre Mudança do Clima</i>³³ ▸ <i>Programma</i>³⁴

TABLE 2: PARTY MATERIAL SAMPLED

OVERVIEW OF MATERIAL	
PARTY	MATERIAL & HYPERLINK
Partido Ecologista Verde de Chile	▶ Partido Ecologista Verde Plataforma Programmatica³⁵
Green Party Taiwan	▶ <i>Core Philosophy</i>³⁶
India Greens Party (IGP)	▶ <i>India Greens Party (IGP) manifesto, 2019</i>³⁷ ▶ <i>India Greens Party (IDP) Policies</i>³⁸ ▶ <i>India Greens Party (IDP) Global Economy</i>³⁹ ▶ <i>India Greens Party Peace and Security</i>⁴⁰
Green Party of Korea	▶ <i>The Green Party Platform</i>⁴¹
Bündnis '90/Die Grünen	▶ <i>Global Development and Globalisation</i>⁴² ▶ <i>Globalisation</i>⁴³ ▶ <i>Fair Trade</i>⁴⁴ ▶ <i>Europe</i>⁴⁵ ▶ <i>Global Solidarity</i>⁴⁶ ▶ <i>Manifesto of Principles</i>⁴⁷
GreenLeft/GroenLinks	▶ <i>Foreign Policy</i>⁴⁸ ▶ <i>Fair Trade</i>⁴⁹ ▶ <i>European Defence Cooperation</i>⁵⁰ ▶ <i>Diplomacy</i>⁵¹ ▶ <i>Press release on the climate law</i>⁵²
Ecologisti-Prasinoi/ Ecologist Greens	▶ <i>Foreign & European Policy</i>⁵³

In addition to that, characteristics that were specific to one party or one region of the world were separated from characteristics that appeared more broadly in the sample. This separation was necessary for parties at all stages of growth, with texts containing more general principles without much elaboration on the one side and region or state-specific foreign policy positions on the other side. In essence, looking into the broad lines and principles of green foreign policy requires going beyond specificity. At the same time, it doesn't necessarily mean that a characteristic of low statistical significance is incompatible with the wider green foreign policy principles analysed in this study.

A general observation that emerges from the study of the material is that Green parties focus, unsurprisingly, on environmental policy and the protection of the natural world. Other fields of policy, such as foreign policy, seem to become more prominent in analogy with the development stage of a party. Admittedly, the analogy between policy elaboration and the development stage of a party is not something that concerns the Greens alone but all political families and the party system in general. However, this research suggests that the principles found to be common in Green parties can be found in the majority of texts under scrutiny, irrespective of the electoral presence of a given party and its development stage, which is perhaps to be expected since there is a similar ideological basis.

3

CHAPTER 3:

PRELIMINARY CHARACTERISTICS

3.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

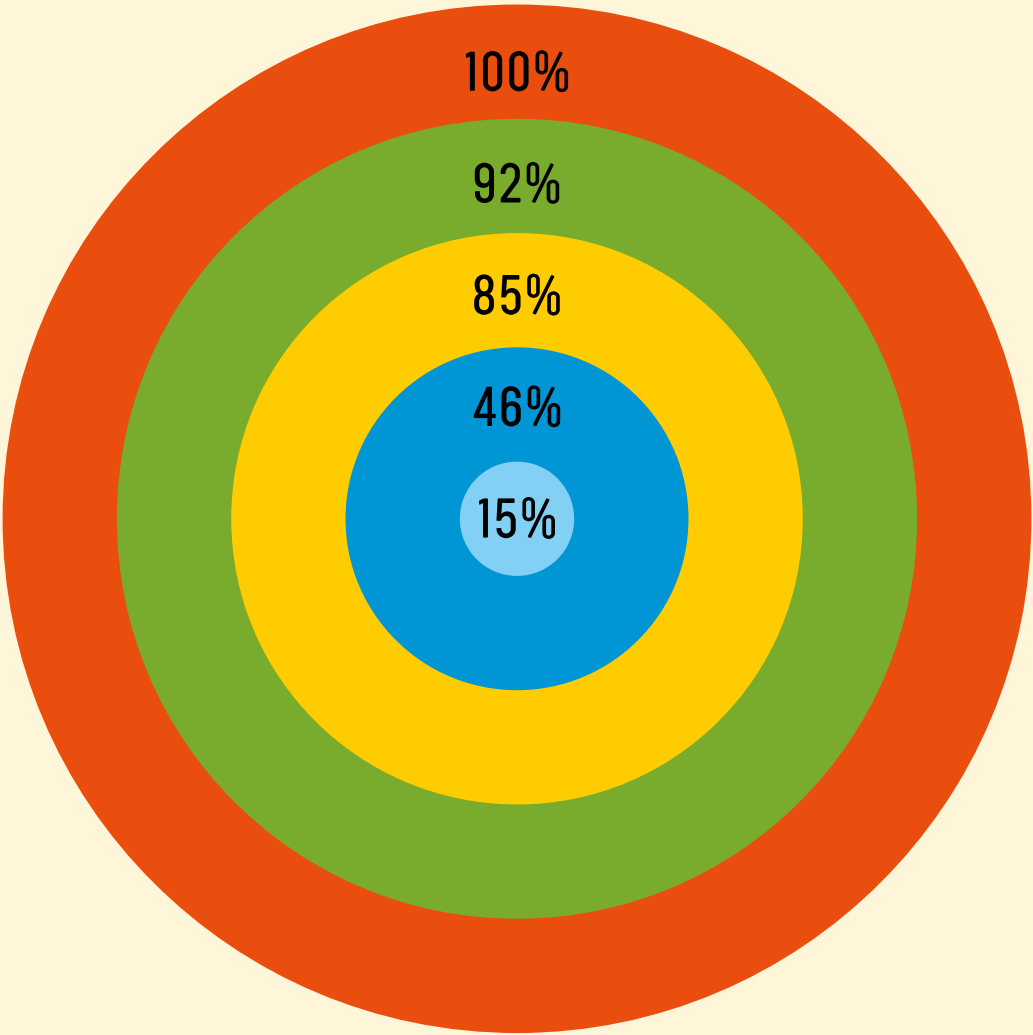
Although the material has been narrowed down in terms of volume through the process of sampling and application of criteria, the material remained voluminous as a whole. Nevertheless, the methodological approach of comparative content analysis guided the research team in designating specific passages from each text that either alluded to, or mentioned directly, issues of foreign policy. These passages were grouped together, based on the analysis of their content, into a series of distinguishable principles of foreign policy. In some cases, the consistency in referencing some principles, although generic, indicated the existence of a foreign policy characteristic.

What is more, the research team has underlined that some foreign policy characteristics analysed through this process overlapped one another. In other words, there were two levels of analysis, and it can be said that several of these specific characteristics stem from those of a more generic character. At the same time, it was often the case that passages included not one but several characteristics in the same paragraph or phrase. This reinforces the findings of two levels of analysis and is in line with the underlying assumption that the characteristics discovered are based on core ideological principles of the Greens.

As can be seen in the Overview Chart, the characteristics found through this process cover issues that go beyond protecting the environment or climate diplomacy. What we can also see is that, with one notable exception, they are present in very high levels in the sample. Indeed, 8 out of 10 characteristics have a high level of prevalence, and this is a strong indication for future studies. Nevertheless, we also see very low prevalence of characteristic 10, which can be attributed to the fact that the texts selected were not always general but referring to foreign policy in particular.

In addition to that, characteristic 8 is found in medium prevalence. This finding is perhaps due to the two levels of analysis described by the research team in the study. In other words, the high prevalence of characteristic 6 is inductive to the argument that the prohibition/restriction of arms is often considered to be included in the more general principle of the promotion of peace. It seems to also suggest that the level of development of a party goes hand in hand with further analysis of general principles. However, nuances and particularities of each of these characteristics will become more apparent in an analysis per characteristic, even at the preliminary stage of this study.

COMMON CHARACTERISTICS AND



LEVEL OF PREVALENCE

- ● ● HIGH PREVALENCE: >75%
- MEDIUM PREVALENCE: 25-75%
- LOW PREVALENCE: <25%

PREVALENCE IN THE TOTAL SAMPLE

1

ELEMENTS OF NORMATIVE FOREIGN POLICY

2

ELEMENTS OF INTERVENTIONISM

3

CLIMATE POLICY & SUSTAINABILITY

4

ELEMENTS OF FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY

5

FAIR TRADE, DEVELOPMENT & RESOURCES

6

PROMOTION OF PEACE/NON-VIOLENCE

7

PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

8

PROHIBITION/RESTRICTION OF ARMS/ARMS TRADE

9

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION/ALLIANCES

10

PARTICIPATORY DECISION-MAKING

3.2 PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF CHARACTERISTICS

3.2.1 CHARACTERISTIC 1: ELEMENTS OF NORMATIVE FOREIGN POLICY

One of the common threads resulting from this analysis is a normative approach to foreign policy. *Normative foreign policy*⁵⁴ is a kind of policy that works by utilising, promoting or aiding in the creation of common rules and international institutions as an antidote to the uncertainty of the international system. Whether pushing for the respect of human rights as a universal value in bilateral diplomacy, for example, or referring to the United Nations Charter, a normative approach attempts to sustain and expand a stable framework of international relations that offers a degree of predictability of outcomes. Indeed, the Greens very often refer to rules and institutions when qualifying policy proposals in foreign affairs. At the same time, an approach that minimises uncertainty in the international system is also de facto strengthening the promotion of peace in the sense that the aspect of fear in international relations is mitigated the more common rules are respected and applied.

The examples of this approach in the texts analysed are numerous and are applicable to many thematic fields. For instance, when calling for nuclear disarmament there is often reference to the *United Nations Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons*⁵⁵ and its ratification. When it comes to the climate crisis and its reversal, the Greens refer to the *Paris Agreement*⁵⁶ and the national obligations it brings about. Strengthening the United Nations as the premise for conflicts to be resolved, as well as for the promotion and maintenance of peace, is often brought up, in what appears to be a strategic approach. Indeed, from the point of view of normative foreign policy, as the guardian of all bilateral and international treaties, the United Nations, and the United Nations system more widely, is a necessary strategic partner.

By the same rationale, parties in countries who are members of the European Union often make reference to the EU as a platform for regional cooperation. Moreover, references to rules are also present in the field of trade, where a call for fair trade treaties can be found. In the context of war, there is a strong reference to international humanitarian law, war crimes and crimes against humanity, which are also subject to international rules. Along those lines, the call for strengthening the role of the International Criminal Court and supporting membership is no surprise.

1

ELEMENTS OF NORMATIVE FOREIGN POLICY

85%



Graph 1: Prevalence of elements of normative foreign policy

Much more research is required to establish the implications of this approach for green foreign policy. However, as we can see in Graph 1, the prevalence of this characteristic in the sample is quite high. Indeed, although preliminary, this finding seems to be a core characteristic of the wider approach of the Greens to foreign policy, alluding to liberal institutionalism, a school of thought in international relations which goes head to head with the assumptions of classical realism.

3.2.2 CHARACTERISTIC 2: ELEMENTS OF INTERVENTIONISM

Interventionism is often portrayed as the approach in favour of military intervention in general. That is certainly not the case for the Green parties under analysis or of this characteristic. In the context of this study, interventionism is described as a much broader spectrum of influence towards a third country, including an approach along the lines of the *responsibility to protect*.⁵⁷ For instance, at one end of that spectrum, we can find a type of “soft” push, such as, for instance, the country review of the *Human Rights Committee*⁵⁸ at the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, also known as the *CCPR*⁵⁹ Committee. Although, the recommendations of the Committee stem from the obligations of a given country as a signatory to the CCPR Covenant, it is quite clear that they are reviewing the domestic situation of that country, and in that sense intervening with recommendations. At the same time, these recommendations are predominantly enforceable by the government of that country, and so they can be considered a “soft” intervention.

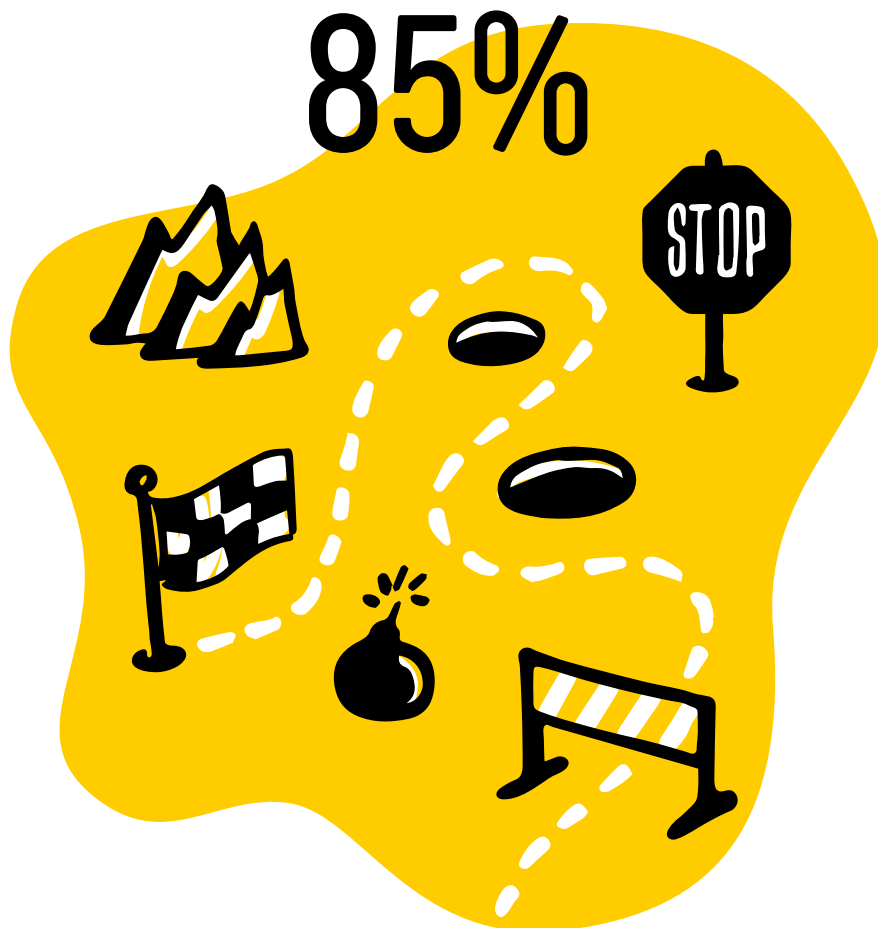
The case of the Human Rights Committee, and the promotion of human rights as a universal value in general, is also relevant to this study because of the first characteristic. In other words, besides the obvious reference to rules, when a Green party calls for the respect of human rights worldwide, it is also implicitly referring to the multilateral organs who conduct reviews and produce human rights recommendations for a given country. In addition to that, this push for change can also take place under the auspices of bilateral diplomacy, including in trade negotiations. In short, interventionism in its broad sense is really any effort aiming to affect the internal situation of another country, without prejudice to the essence of characteristic 5.

What is more, accentuating this characteristic of interventionism in foreign policy can mean more coercive measures, such as imposing a trade embargo on a third country, for instance. It is important to note at this point that the kind of interventionism found in the analysis seems to be intrinsically of a gradual nature. This gradual aspect is key, highlighting the pre-emptive style of green foreign policy, especially given that the promotion of peace appears to be one of its main attributes. In practice, the more the situation shifts towards the other end of the spectrum, the more conditions and breaks appear.

Indeed, the case of GroenLinks is indicative of this approach of setting conditions and requirements the more the discussion moves towards the hard end of interventionism. In the context of an internal party discussion in 2014 on the question of military intervention, the *Assessment Framework for Military Interventions*⁶⁰ was discussed. In this document, we can see at the starting points a clear reference to international law and international legitimacy as a requirement (characteristic 1) and the requirement of having examined all alternative options (the spectrum of intervention as described in this study), as well as the urgency of addressing human rights abuses and large-scale violence (characteristic 7).

2

ELEMENTS OF INTERVENTIONISM



Graph 2: Prevalence of elements of interventionism

Furthermore, as can be seen in Graph 2, this wide scope of interventionism is found in high prevalence in the sample. It is a feature that seems to be in line with the beyond-borders approach found in core issues for the Greens, such as the protection of the natural environment and the reversal of climate change. Indeed, although abiding by the climate targets set by the Paris Agreement may be quite expressive of the normative approach in foreign policy, the push for their adoption is not.

3.2.3 CHARACTERISTIC 3: CLIMATE POLICY AND SUSTAINABILITY

One of the characteristics almost immediately identifiable with the Greens is climate policy and sustainability. It includes the prominent call of the Greens for the reversal of the climate crisis, whether through national or international action, as well as a wider understanding of sustainability in the context of human society. Indeed, it refers to system change through socio-ecological transformation and the practice of climate diplomacy in broad terms. However, it also seems to be a reference to the character of foreign policy for the Greens in a more practical sense.

In practice, by placing climate diplomacy high on the priority list of foreign policy action, it also presents an internationalist stance towards the resolution of problems such as climate change. The same applies in the case of environmental issues whose beyond-borders character also hints at cooperation, be it regional or wider in scope (characteristic 9). What is more, in close connection with characteristic 1, the Greens also call for climate change reversal by referring to normative means such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the United Nations system in general. Whether calling for the development of renewable energy sources, curbing carbon emissions or preserving biodiversity as a global imperative, the internationalist character in the approach is present.

Unsurprisingly, this characteristic has very high prevalence in the texts under review, as can be seen in Graph 3. It is also important to note that this characteristic seems to be laying the foundations for the development of several others. For instance, the call for prohibition of nuclear weapons (characteristics 6 and 8), including by promoting the adherence to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (characteristic 1), the call for the sustainable use of resources globally (characteristic 5) and international cooperation (characteristic 9) to tackle climate change, and promoting the sustainable use of water globally and the right to water (characteristics 1, 5 and 7), could all very well be included in this characteristic. However, acknowledging the existence of two levels of analysis, is not only reinforcing but requires the further analysis of other characteristics.

3

CLIMATE POLICY & SUSTAINABILITY

100%



Graph 3: Prevalence of climate policy and sustainability

3.2.4 CHARACTERISTIC 4: ELEMENTS OF FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY

Feminism and the fight against patriarchy appears to be an approach very often included in the green political analysis and positions in the sample. In particular, there is often express reference to ‘women and girls’ and the LGBTQI+ community in paragraphs calling for the promotion of human rights. Feminist foreign policy as a concept is still in the process of development around the world, and so feminism in general is easier to locate than more direct feminist foreign policy references in the texts under review. However, taking into account the different stages of party development of the sample, general references to feminism have been included in this characteristic because it is a requirement for feminist foreign policy proposals to emerge.

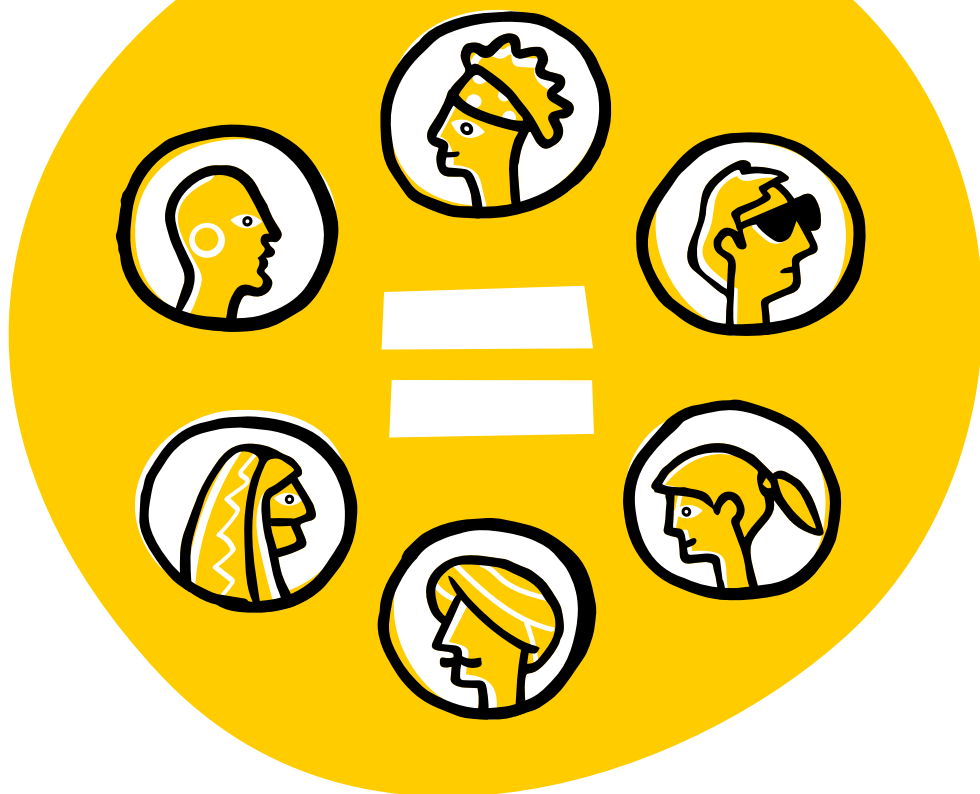
However, the research team located several passages with clearer references to a feminist foreign policy. Indeed, from calls for women’s integration into peacekeeping missions to acknowledging the gender aspect of war and sexualised violence, this characteristic appears to be quite distinct in several passages analysed. In detail, it seems that the reference to ‘women and girls’, which is an expression also found in Global Greens’ texts, is often an indicator for this characteristic. In addition to that, there is often reference to normative means, such as treaties or institutions, for the consolidation of the rights of women and girls around the world, which indicates the presence of characteristic 1 in these passages as well.

Furthermore, as we can see in Graph 4, this characteristic is highly prevalent in the texts analysed. Here too, we often see a connection with other characteristics since the promotion of human rights (characteristic 7) and the reference to normative rules (characteristic 1), along with the call for equal access to resources (characteristics 5), education and the *disproportionate impact of climate change on women and girls*⁶¹ (characteristic 3), come up in some of these passages. Although the basis for the development of feminist foreign policy seems to be present, further analysis is required. Indeed, the more the concept of feminist foreign policy is developed, the more it is to be expected that this characteristic will become more distinguishable.

4

ELEMENTS OF FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY

85%



Graph 4: Prevalence of elements of feminist foreign policy

3.2.5 CHARACTERISTIC 5: FAIR TRADE, DEVELOPMENT AND RESOURCES

Another characteristic in high prevalence is referring to fair trade and fair development, as well as the fair and sustainable management and distribution of resources globally. This characteristic is included in passages referring to resource management with close relation to characteristic 3. In addition to that, fair trade is a rather prominent aspect of this characteristic, and it seems to go beyond bilateral trade and relate to a wider narrative for trade in general. Indeed, trade and development in these passages seem to be connected, and that is one of the reasons why all these three aspects have been placed together.

Whether making mention of trade barriers, social justice or the North-South balance, there seems to be an all-encompassing character present in these passages. In practice, the approach is underlying the need for fairness in trade and development in a wider logic which can be described as decolonialism. For instance, the research team has located passages that oppose 'exploitation through trade that is predatory to a society'. What is more, we also find a connection with characteristics 7 and 1, in passages with references to human rights as a condition for trade relations but also referring to the respect of the rights of local and indigenous communities.

As we can see in Graph 5, this characteristic is found in high prevalence in the sample. This decolonialist approach to trade and development is also in line with the internationalist stance found in characteristic 3. Indeed, the promotion of peace and non-violence (characteristic 6) can be seen as in relation with this characteristic, since colonialism is in essence just another form of systemic violence that is applied in the context of the international system. The high prevalence in this characteristic is further underlining the importance of the decolonial approach in a potential doctrine of green foreign policy.

5

FAIR TRADE, DEVELOPMENT & RESOURCES

100%



Graph 5: Prevalence of fair trade, development & resources

3.2.6 CHARACTERISTIC 6: PROMOTION OF PEACE/NON-VIOLENCE

The promotion of peace and non-violence is found as a characteristic in foreign policy positions throughout the sample. Indeed, the pacifist roots of the green movement seem to be encompassing almost the entirety of characteristics found in this study. What is more, this characteristic is very often found in the same passages with reference to international rules and institutions (characteristic 1) and that is indicative of how peace is featured based on these texts. In detail, the resolution of international conflict and the wider effort of conflict prevention by actors with the required legitimacy, describes a kind of peace with a structural character. This character can be better observed in conjunction with the decolonial approach (characteristic 5) and the promotion of human rights (characteristic 7) which aim at the root causes of conflict.

In other words, it appears that this characteristic is referring to the promotion of a watchful peace that is understood as a continuous process of prevention of conflict, embalmed with legitimacy (characteristic 1), and going hand-in-hand with breaking the vicious circle of violence by promoting non-violence. It also seems to be closely connected to characteristic 8 on the prohibition-restriction of arms/arms trade, which it sometimes replaces in the case of some texts of the sample. In the long run, the promotion of peace and non-violence appears to also be about the restriction or prohibition of the means for war (e.g. arms) in a preventive logic. Indeed, it is often the case in the passages under analysis that the promotion of peace and the restriction of the arms trade is found in the same paragraph.

Furthermore, legitimacy appears to play a crucial role in the interpretation of this principle. Legitimacy not only seems necessary when it comes to an international institution such as the United Nations conducting peace operations, but also in the case of self-defence of a state. In fact, a direct reference to the right of self-defence is found within the sample of these passages. Legitimacy in self-defence is also in line with the promotion of humanitarian law and the International Criminal Court (characteristic 1) found within the passages analysed. In detail, the rather recent inclusion of the crime of aggression in the competence of the Court reinforces the legitimacy of the attacked to have 'the mechanisms of national defence [...] there with the maximum of efforts'⁶².

6

PROMOTION OF PEACE/NON-VIOLENCE

100%



Graph 6: Prevalence of promotion of peace/non-violence

3.2.7 CHARACTERISTIC 7: PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The promotion of human rights is another characteristic found in high prevalence, as can be seen in Graph 7. Although it is in itself a reference to norms (characteristic 1), it appears to also underline a wider approach in the texts analysed. Indeed, besides human dignity as a value in itself, the underlying assumption seems to be in line with *democratic peace theory*⁶³. Although the *jury is still out*⁶⁴ on the validity of democratic peace theory, this approach is in line with the wider approach found in other characteristics (especially characteristic 6), which is preventive of war and laborious on the consolidation of peace by focusing on both the causes and the means of war.

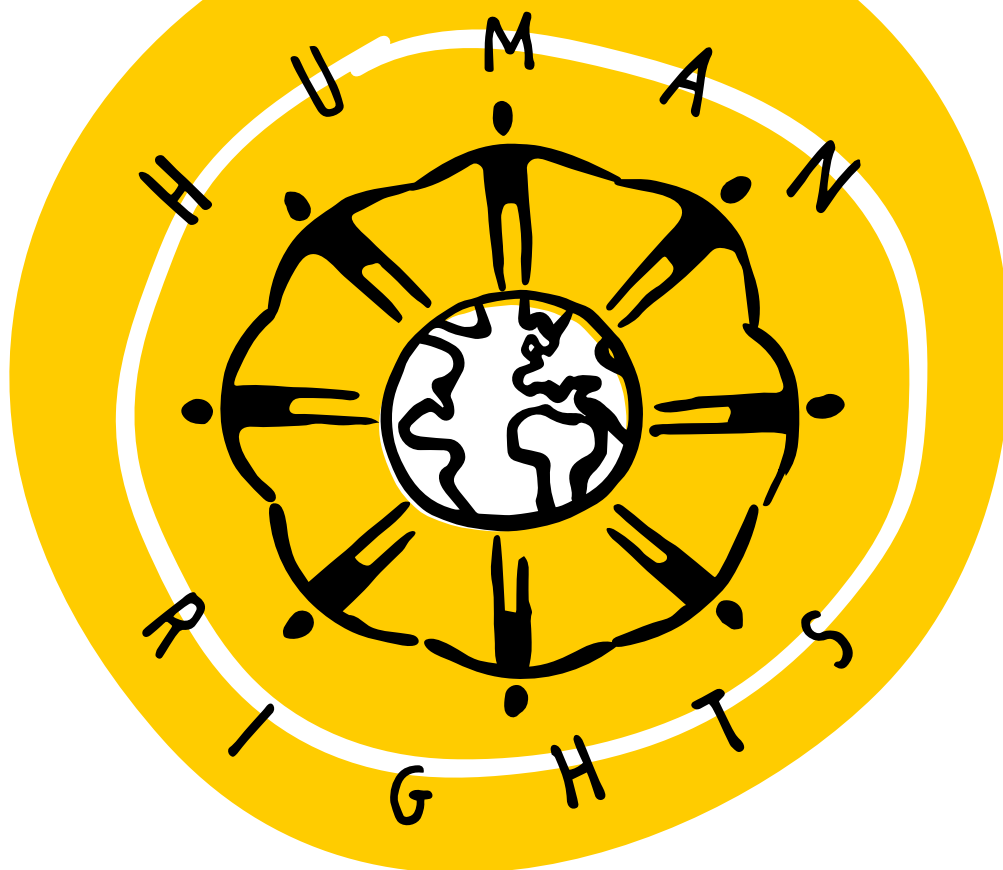
It can be said that the protection of human rights is found on a higher level of analysis, an observation which seems to be supported by the powerful connection with many other characteristics. Indeed, besides the ties with characteristic 1, human rights promotion is the underlying assumption to a certain extent for characteristic 2 on interventionism. Moreover, characteristic 3 on climate policy and sustainability alludes to intergenerational justice, as well as the rights of indigenous communities (also in characteristic 5), while characteristic 4 is closely linked with the promotion of human rights since they promote gender equality de facto. However, the promotion of human rights is also testament to another aspect, often appearing in the context of this analysis.

Indeed, the character of human rights as a universal value is present in almost all passages relevant to this characteristic. It is important to also underline this in the context of the decolonial approach implicit in characteristic 5, and to some extent characteristic 9. In other words, this universality appears to supersede the considerations of local specificity, whether it is about culture, religion or other identities of a given state. In addition to that, express references to the rights of refugees and migrants, as well as the tackling of the root causes of migration, indicate here too a beyond-borders character and internationalist approach for green foreign policy. Much more analysis is required to untangle the implications of this characteristic on foreign policy formation, but it seems rather clear that it is about a minimum common denominator in the conduct of international relations, along with the more practical implications of the normative approach (characteristic 1).

7

PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

100%



Graph 7: Prevalence of promotion of human rights

3.2.8 CHARACTERISTIC 8: PROHIBITION/RESTRICTION OF ARMS/ARMS TRADE

The prohibition/restriction of arms or the arms trade is a characteristic found in less than half of the samples under analysis. This is perhaps due to the overall promotion of peace and non-violence (characteristic 6) as principles of foreign policy and the logic of that characteristic through which the express reference to arms is often considered unnecessary. It is probably also about the stage of development of a given party and the extent to which it has proceeded with the elaboration of general principles. Indeed, foreign policy in general seems to be further down the road in the developmental stages of Green parties.

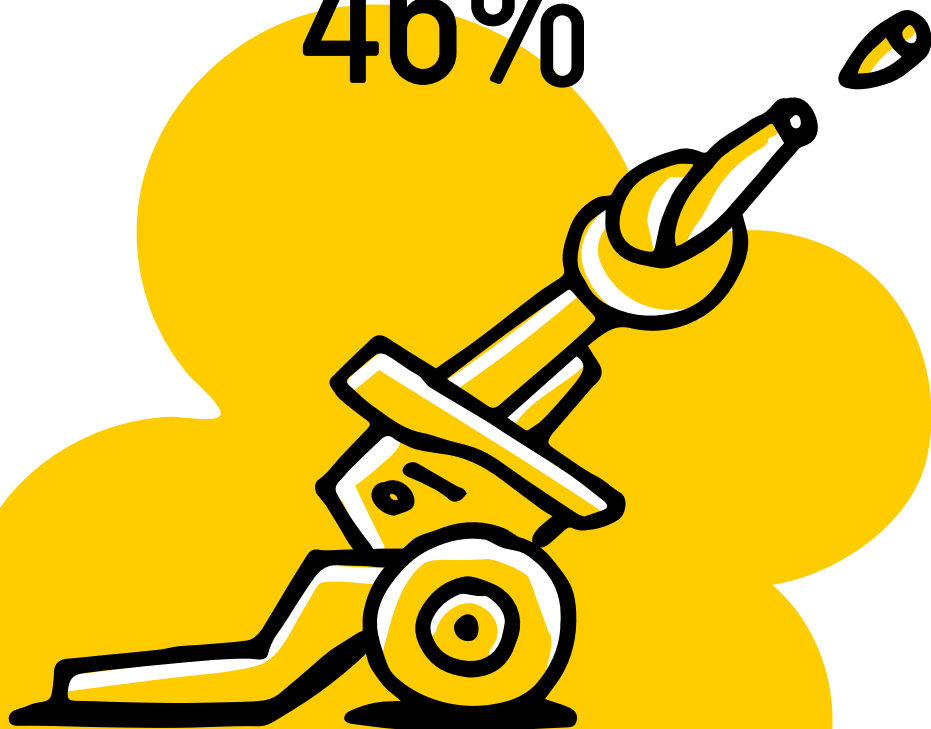
Nevertheless, as we can see in Graph 8, many green parties choose to elaborate on the specifics of arms and the arms trade. This is indicative of an approach also found in other characteristics, which looks to tackle the question of the means of war in a preventive manner. Furthermore, the question of arms and the arms trade seems to disproportionately affect women and girls in conflict zones⁶⁵, which is a direct link with characteristics 4 and 7. However there are linkages also with characteristic 3.

Indeed, there is often reference to the prohibition of nuclear weaponry, with implications for the sustainability of ecosystems, both local and planetary. In addition to that, several of these passages refer to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (characteristic 1). Whether mentioned separately or included in characteristic 6, the question of arms appears to be closely connected with the promotion of peace, and not only in terms of semantics. It seems that the preventive logic coming up in the analysis of the promotion of peace and non-violence characteristic (6) is in line with 'support[ing] all peace negotiations aimed at reducing arms and armed forces'⁶⁶ as a distinct preventive measure towards the consolidation of a watchful peace.

8

PROHIBITION/RESTRICTION OF ARMS/ARMS TRADE

46%



Graph 8: Prevalence of prohibition/restriction of arms/arms trade

3.2.9 CHARACTERISTIC 9: INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION/ALLIANCES

The characteristic of international cooperation is perhaps the most telling of the internationalist approach. Moreover, as we can see in Graph 9, it is a feature of very high prevalence. This characteristic is in line with the normative approach (characteristic 1) since that too is about cooperation in the sense of designating common rules through multilateralism, for instance. It is also, in essence, in line with the decolonial element implicit in characteristic 5, from the point of view that a cooperative approach in international relations may be considered the opposite of imperialism.

Nevertheless, cooperation in the context of this characteristic seems to have deeper implications. Indeed, many of the passages under analysis refer to cooperation not only in terms of consent but also as a requirement for a stable international system. In other words, just as participatory decision-making in a democracy reinforces the enforceability of decisions, the cooperative stance found here is in the direction of inclusive and consensual international action. It is also a logical extension of the beyond-borders approach for issues at the core of green political analysis. Should it be verified through the process of further analysis, it also provides an answer to a very core dilemma in *game theory*,⁶⁷ with implications for the *Nash Equilibrium*,⁶⁸ as well as international relations theory in general, by extension.

Furthermore, in these passages, the United Nations come up as a forum for this cooperation to take shape (characteristic 1). Indeed, multilateralism seems to be a very prominent feature that affects all policy fields. It is also a characteristic to be understood as a process with an incremental character, moving towards the consolidation of trust and good faith among actors of the international system. In other words, it aims at minimising uncertainty in the international system along the lines of 'striv[ing] to foster a culture of peace and cooperation, with the principle of non-violence at every level of our relationships. Because we understand that true security is based on cooperation'.⁶⁹

9

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION/ALLIANCES

92%



Graph 9: Prevalence of international cooperation/alliances

3.2.10 CHARACTERISTIC 10: PARTICIPATORY DECISION-MAKING

Although participatory decision-making is present in the party structure of Greens parties, the selection of texts with reference to foreign policy positions de facto excluded its reference in general. The research team included this aspect as it was distinct from other characteristics. However, due to the low prevalence in the sample, it is not considered to be a characteristic of green foreign policy, even at this preliminary stage of the research process. Yet, characteristic 4, for instance, refers to the inclusion of all stakeholders in the peace process. Thus the aspect of inclusion in foreign policy is not entirely irrelevant to the question under analysis, based on the findings of the research team.

Furthermore, there are some models relating to policy that would be compatible with this characteristic. Indeed, a model of dialectical public diplomacy would be in line with this approach of inclusion in the forming of foreign policy and would allow for more creative powers of a democratic society to be beneficial in the context of foreign policy-making. In essence, such a dialectical approach would be about a reorientation of public diplomacy from the usual processes of diffusion and propagation of information to a multi-stakeholder consultation and deliberation, including in matters of foreign policy.

10

PARTICIPATORY DECISION-MAKING

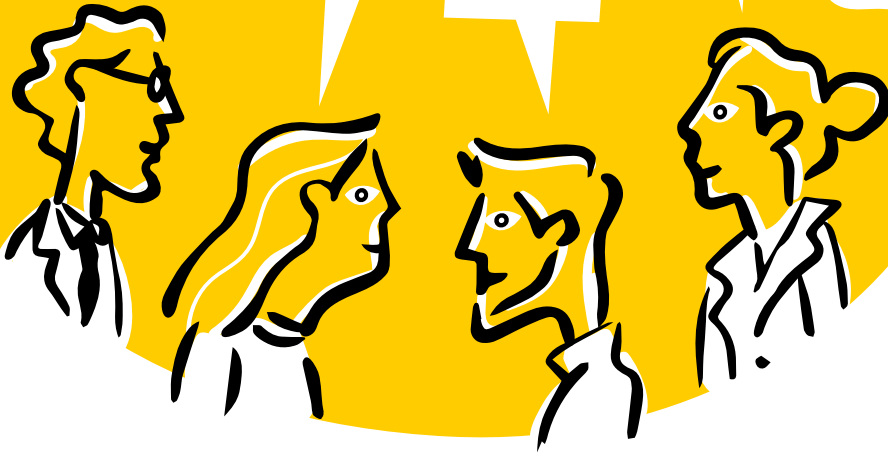
15%

PAR

TI

CI

PATE



Graph 10: Prevalence of participatory decision-making

4

4. CONCLUSIONS

The preliminary character of the findings and the initial stage of the research process do not allow for conclusions of a definite character on the question of green foreign policy. However, the high prevalence of the majority of these characteristics is a very strong indication with regard to the potential shape of a foreign policy doctrine. In any case, the research team has suggested that the findings are in line with a specific school of thought in international relations theory that goes head to head with the principal assumptions of classical realism. Indeed, *liberal institutionalism*⁷⁰ seems to be in line with the majority of characteristics, and especially with the elements of normative foreign policy.

In detail, designating a school of thought that could provide a more solid facts-based analysis with regard to the creation of foreign policy is very important. In practice, this knowledge could provide some kind of compass when responding to foreign policy questions that may come up rushing into the political debate. The case of the current war of aggression on the European continent is one of those instances, but there are many others across the globe. Nevertheless, the significance of these findings will be the subject of further study.

What is more, political science and international relations theory may provide the necessary basis for an informed political debate, but it is up to policy-makers to walk the path that lies ahead. Although an image of a potential green foreign policy doctrine is forming, where all the findings are interconnected in their essence and scope, it is possible that some of these characteristics also stand separately. In addition to that, the separate findings of this study may be present in the foreign policy framework of other political families as well. That is to say that the implications of this research process as it moves forward with further analysis may go beyond green politics and indeed might provide a more concise framework for cooperation on foreign policy formation and exchange with other political families on several instances.

At the same time, the interconnectedness of these characteristics appears to be a characteristic in itself for green foreign policy doctrine. Indeed, a foreign policy doctrine translates into a distinct character and analysis that is more or less easily distinguishable from other analyses. In other words, there is an added value when the totality of features is adopted for both policy-making and an analysis of it. It remains to be seen whether green foreign policy doctrine will be just the approach of green parties to foreign policy, or a more generally distinguishable approach to foreign policy that also other political families may choose to adopt (just as happened, to some extent, with sustainability and caring for the planet). The answer to the question of what is a green foreign policy doctrine may now be closer, but further analysis is necessary for more definite conclusions.

ENDNOTES

- 1 <https://www.greeneuropeanjournal.eu/dutch-green-party-and-r2p-soul-searching-over-military-intervention/>
- 2 <https://globalgreens.org/about/charter/>
- 3 <https://oceanconservancy.org/climate/publications/elements-blue-green-foreign-policy/>
- 4 <https://thediplomat.com/2016/07/what-is-a-green-foreign-policy/>
- 5 In cases where the material sought was available in a language other than Greek or English, the free software *DeepL* (<https://www.deepl.com/translator>) was used to translate documents, and Google translate was used to translate material available only on the websites.
- 6 <https://greens.org.au/>
- 7 <https://www.greens.org.nz/>
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- 9 <https://ecologicalpartyofuganda.com/>
- 10 <https://www.greenparty.ca/en>
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- 13 <https://www.greenparty.org.tw/en>
- 14 <https://www.kgreens.org/>
- 15 <https://indiagreensparty.org/policies/>
- 16 <https://asiapacificgreens.org/>
- 17 <https://www.gruene.de/themen>
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- 20 <https://globalgreens.org/member-parties/>
- 21 <https://greens.org.au/sites/default/files/2022-05/Greens-2022-Policy-Platform--World--Peace-Disarmament.pdf>
- 22 <https://greens.org.au/sites/default/files/2022-01/Greens-2022-Policy-Platform--World--Decolonising-International-Aid.pdf>
- 23 <https://greens.org.au/platform/anti-racist-society>
- 24 <https://greens.org.au/policies/international-relations>
- 25 <https://greens.org.au/policies/climate-change-and-energy>
- 26 https://assets.nationbuilder.com/beachheroes/pages/9580/attachments/original/1593039349/Policy-Greens_Global_Affairs.pdf?1593039349
- 27 https://www.greens.org.nz/trade_and_foreign_investment_policy
- 28 https://www.greens.org.nz/immigration_policy
- 29 <https://www.rwandagreendemocrats.org/sites/globalgreens.org/files/DGPR%20Manifesto%20English%20version%20for%20%20MP%20Elections%20Dec%202018.pdf>
- 30 <https://ecologicalpartyofuganda.com/#principles>
- 31 https://www.greenparty.ca/sites/default/files/gpc_platform_en_v-02.pdf
- 32 <https://pv.org.br/opartido/os-12-valores-do-pv/>

33 <https://pv.org.br/governo-divulga-nota-sobre-mudanca-do-clima>

34 <https://pv.org.br/opartido/programa/>

35 Access to the party website appears to be unavailable. The party programme was in PDF format and had been downloaded during the initial desk research.

36 <https://web.greenparty.org.tw/about/>

37 <https://india-greens.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/IGP-ENGLISHMANIFESTO.pdf>

38 <https://indiagreensparty.org/policies>

39 <https://indiagreensparty.org/2018/10/29/global-economy/>

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41 <https://www.kgreens.org/platform>

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62 Source: *DEMOCRATIC GREEN PARTY OF RWANDA (DGPR) POLITICAL PROGRAM 2018-2023* (<https://www.rwandagreendemocrats.org/sites/globalgreens.org/files/DGPR%20Manifesto%20English%20version%20for%20%20MP%20Elections%20Dec%202018.pdf>)

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65 <https://www.unidir.org/publication/factsheet-gender-and-arms-trade-treaty>

66 Source: Green Party of Korea Website

67 <https://academic.oup.com/edited-volume/34503/chapter-abstract/292747324?redirectedFrom=fulltext&login=false>

68 <https://academic.oup.com/ejil/article/23/4/915/546126?login=false>

69 Source: *Green Party Taiwan Website* (<https://web.greenparty.org.tw/about/>)

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